



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

The Economic Organization of Peace

By HON. SAMUEL J. GRAHAM

Assistant Attorney General of the United States

IT is not my purpose to discuss the covenant of the League of Nations, or the proposed treaty of peace. The people of this country demand an insurance policy against war on the lives of their men and their property, and the only policy that is offered to them is the covenant of the League of Nations. For this reason they are for it, and I believe that it will be confirmed and established as far as the government of the United States is concerned. I wish rather to direct your attention to some phases of the organization of peace which are basic—certain requisites which are fundamental, even after you have a league of nations in operation.

Each of us must learn something in this world as we go along, if the world is to progress. Abraham Lincoln, with his uncommon sanity, once said: "I haven't much opinion of a man who isn't wiser today than he was yesterday." Some persons always advance into the future with their eyes turned back, looking for a precedent, and are accustomed to predict, whenever a new thing is proposed for the advancement of civilization, that if it is tried the world will wake up and find its throat cut. The world, however, wakes up, rubs its eyes, stretches itself and goes about its business. Civilization is the result of human experience and is perfected by human experience. Each generation has a certain residuum of clarified experience from which it can draw for the future. But in looking back and examining that experience, while lessons are to be drawn from it, men must read those lessons in the light of present conditions. All forms of government—whether they be monarchies, despotisms or democracies—are but forms of human housekeeping, and these forms vary from time to time as conditions in the world change. Conditions are constantly changing. The world is always in a flux. There is no trick of perpetual motion in government any more than in mechanics. We have only to take our own Constitution as an example. It has been changed many times—changed by amend-

ments that had they been proposed in the Constitutional Convention would not have received one vote, and would have shocked and amazed George Washington and his associates; such, for instance, as giving the negro the ballot and prohibition. But conditions have changed, and all recognize today that in the course of the development of society, government and civilization these are things that are here to stay and should be.

In the organization of peace any proposed plan for a league of nations is not supposed or intended to be static and unchangeable. After a reasonably satisfactory form is secured and agreed upon, and the breath of life breathed into it, it will change, as all human institutions change. Nothing is easier and more commonplace than criticism, nothing more fruitless and confusing than hypothetical cases based upon imaginary facts. The Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount, if submitted for approval today and subjected to tests of hypothetical cases propounded by present-day lawyers and statesmen, could be made difficult of defense and shrouded with an atmosphere of confusion in the minds of many. Had the first paragraph of the Declaration of Independence been subjected to the same unfair tests the debate might have continued so indefinitely that it would never have been adopted. Debate on hypothetical cases is an endless affair, and will continue without a satisfactory conclusion as long as a mind can be found to produce imaginary facts. The need of the hour is to get some form which will reasonably meet the demands and aspirations of the people—as was done in the case of our Constitution—not a form that is going to meet the views of everybody in every particular; for that is not possible.

Alexander Hamilton, when confronted in the Constitutional Convention, with the question of whether he should sign and support the form of the Constitution which had been agreed upon, said in substance that it was far from what he wanted, as the members of the Convention well knew, but that he believed it was the best that could be gotten at that time, and he would defer to the judgment of his associates, being satisfied that it was a matter of choice between the establishment of that form of government and anarchy. Benjamin Franklin took a somewhat similar position, although the Constitution was nearer to his views than Hamilton's. This is the view we should take of the

plan of a league of nations proposed by the Peace Conference, and which the people of the country, I believe, have made up their minds to take.

I wish to discuss the organization of peace as it is affected by national rather than international conditions; and to point out certain essential elements in the organization of peace which must be considered after the League of Nations has begun to function. Much the larger part of government is human. The biggest, the most certain and all-encompassing thing in the world is Man, and all that is going on in this world, in the final analysis, is but man's effort to make a living. All history, whether of economics or government or society, is but the story of this effort. All government and all social institutions are but methods which man has devised to make a living. It is the human element in government that is the important element and that must always be kept in mind if any plan of government is to be successful. The Declaration of Independence was a capital transaction in human affairs. It was done "in the course of human events," as it stated. In the first words of the first paragraph of the enunciation of the fundamentals of government is the following declaration of basic human principles:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

It dealt not with interests, with states, with caste, with wealth—it dealt with the human stuff that to the fullest extent makes up government. To understand government it is necessary to appreciate fully this human element in government, and its significance and vital relation to any form of government. Man must have his living. All government must rest on the consent of the governed. When that is withdrawn the form of government falls. Empires have risen and fallen upon the same spot. The sun still shines, the fields still produce, the same soil is there, the same waters flow on, the same raw materials remain, and yet on those very spots forms of government have come and gone. In the tenth century Bulgaria controlled the whole of the Balkan peninsula. In the fourteenth century little Serbia controlled the whole of that penin-

sula from the Danube to the Gulf of Corinth. In the seventeenth century Poland was a great nation, repelled the advance of the Turks and was thanked by Europe; yet in one century Poland was no more. In each of these cases the government had fallen into contempt, or had lost the confidence of the governed, thereby causing the withdrawal of their consent. In such cases a disposition is created not to defend and support the government, but to allow it to fall to pieces, or even to destroy it, thereby rendering it too weak internally either to hold together or resist external attack. To retain the consent of the governed the government must create and establish such reasonable living conditions for the average man as it was designed to secure. It must provide conditions where the average man can live with a fair degree of satisfaction, contentment and freedom, otherwise he will withdraw his consent. The decay and disappearance of empires has been due to political causes—to the failure of the form of government to give to man that kind of living which he demands and must have. His demands for a better kind of living have broadened with the spread of intelligence in the world. Today he is demanding and will have what he knows he has the power to get—a kind of living in keeping with the advanced conscience and intelligence of the world.

Whether representative government can, or will, meet this demand is the big and all-important question of today for us and for the world, since upon it depends the organization of a permanent peace in the world.

The importance of this human element in government, as related to the internal affairs of the different nations rather than their external relations with each other, must be noted. No nation today can prevent its domestic affairs from being affected by the internal conditions and disorders of other nations. The rapid spread of intelligence, the facility and swiftness of communication and the easy and general use of propaganda have created this situation. The domestic affairs of China react upon us. The lava of discontent, as seen in Europe today, will overflow any dyke or any wall of nationality that can be erected. The only safeguard is to have such a large measure of contentment and freedom at home as will be able to resist and throw off this poison of discontent from the outside. To have this you must provide that the individual man shall be reasonably contented

and satisfied, shall have an opportunity to strive and feel that he owns himself before God and his fellow-men. One of the things that man must have, if he is going to be contented, is food, a reasonable amount of food for himself and his family. If he is deprived of food, and hunger is allowed to take possession of him, he at once loses that social morality which makes him respect the rights of others and in doing so respect himself. If he reaches the extreme of hunger he reverts to the state of a savage and an animal, and will kill his friend and eat him. This is Nature's primal law of self-preservation. Therefore, in order to have stable government, conditions must be provided under which the average man can live and be reasonably satisfied and free to strive and work out his own life.

The autocratic power of kings and caste has been swept away in the world. The peoples of the world are asking whether the powers that be are the powers that ought to be. Formerly men knew only their wants, their desires and their fears; today they know their opportunities and their power. Give the average man what is practicable and possible and he is apt to be satisfied; fail to give him what is practicable and possible and he will follow any agitator who promises him the impracticable and impossible.

In a paper of this length I cannot go into the details of how and by what means government is to give contentment, freedom and opportunity to the average man. However, it is certain that he must be allowed a reasonable share of the proceeds of industry so that he may have a fair amount of food and raiment for himself and his family, and some opportunity for recreation and thought. Above all, the government must go into the business of providing for the health of its citizens. If a man has not health he has not anything. He cannot be contented and he cannot strive. He cannot enjoy his surroundings. He has a right to look to his government to provide healthy, sanitary conditions under which he and his family can live, and to protect him and them, against contagious diseases and impure water; otherwise he becomes discontented, and a prey to the teachings that lead him from the paths of order and law. As previously stated, representative government is on trial the world over today, and the problem it must solve is how to provide contentment and freedom for the average man. Unless these are provided there can be no permanent organization of peace.